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252 wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are
262 all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These
[438] are made primarily in the town, partly for sale
[443] in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. Semítas are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not
[427] own an oven, she pays one bread for each board-ful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house own-
[443] ers who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at
[435] 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

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left in a single load. As yet, though, the most important influence of the highway is the frequent bus service. The regular buses, connecting with buses for Guadalajara, and going directly to or from Morelia, and Mexico City, pass through to and from Uruapan about once an hour during the day. In addition, smaller buses from Uruapan to Purépero and Nahuatzen pass by several times a day. As a consequence, individual vendors often go to market by bus. Women take foodstuffs or herbs to Uruapan for the Sunday market regularly. Others may visit the market at Paracho merely as a recreation. Not a few in the village have made a trip or two to Mexico City.

Modern transport has even reached into Cherán itself. Three of the more well-to-do men in the town have purchased a 1½-ton truck, which carries freight to Uruapan or Morelia at 1½ centavos a kilo. On Sundays it also operates as a "wildcat" (i.e., unlicensed) bus to Paracho. The fare is 25 centavos plus a charge for bulky bundles; for example, 20 centavos for three bundles of palm leaves. Although trucks are not supposed to carry passengers, a satisfactory working arrangement has been made with the traffic police.

STOREKEEPERS

Cherán is unique among large Tarascan towns in that virtually all storekeepers are natives. A few of the storekeepers are large farmers whose families run a store on the side, but most of them made their start as storekeepers although they may now also be farmers. As one of the successful storekeepers explained, less capital is required to start a store than is needed to buy adequate farm lands. According to this same informant, if a man has fifty pesos, he can get a hundred pesos worth of goods, and if he has a place to operate, he is established in business. Moreover, the work is not as hard as farming. In addition, as people in Cherán have the same idea of living standards, business volume in most stores is small, so small that it is said not to have attracted the Mestizos. It is asserted that only those accustomed to Tarascan living standards and ways can succeed in making a living as a storekeeper in Cherán.

The more able storekeepers not only sell

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443 goods, but may make buying trips in person to Purépero for cloth or to Uruapan for groceries. Some storekeepers make clothing in their spare time or have sewing machines for rent. In addition, storekeepers may add to their income by buying corn, wheat, or eggs in small quantities. It is no uncommon thing in some stores to see a small girl arrive with some wheat tied up in one end of her *rebozo* and perhaps one egg, and bargaining with the storekeeper for some small purchase. It is noteworthy, though, [437] that the transaction is not on a barter basis. First the sale of wheat or eggs to the storekeeper is completed and the money paid over. The seller then indicates what she desires to purchase.[24]

Time did not permit the making of a detailed study of the functioning of Cherán stores. It would be of considerable interest to do so, and if the cooperation of the wholesalers in Uruapan and Purépero could be secured, probably a fairly accurate idea of the movement of goods into the Cherán market would be possible. In the discussion of price some idea of the range of goods carried is given (p. 88).

Although not forming an important item in Cherán trade, it should be observed that women, children, and occasionally elderly men, sell some goods on the streets, usually at a street corner. Perhaps half a dozen corners always have one to three vendors selling such things as cooked squash or sweetpotatoes, fruit, peanuts, and other things which are purchased primarily as *golosinas*, or between-meal snacks. Similar vendors appear in some numbers at harvest time, often out in the country, at which time their stock also includes *čharanda* (sugarcane alcohol and water).

MARKETS

An important mechanism of exchange among the Tarascans is the market. In a great many towns markets are held only on the occasion of a religious fiesta or, if present at other times, are small and relatively unimportant. Taras-

[24] An hour in the store of M. S. is typical. A small girl brought 1 liter of shelled maize, two ears of maize, and one egg for which she received 11 centavos. Several other persons came in, bringing single liters of wheat or corn. One person brought 20 liters of beans (this is unusual as Cherán raises less beans than it consumes). In addition to a number of sales of less than 5 centavos, the following sales at 5 centavos were made (there were none larger): one cake of soap, *criolina*, castor oil, lime.

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443 can economy is also linked with the national economy through the markets. The Sunday market at Uruapan, for example, is an important occasion for the disposal of Tarascan goods and for the purchase of supplies. The Uruapan market, however, is primarily a Mestizo market, and the Indian part in it is minor and far from obvious.

Quite otherwise is the market at Pátzcuaro. Although it is perhaps even more of a Mestizo town than Uruapan, the markets at Pátzcuaro on Fridays and Sundays are predominantly Indian markets. The Pátzcuaro markets are probably the most important agencies of exchange to be found in Tarascan territory. They would well merit intensive study.

The Sunday market in Paracho is the only large, regular market in the Sierra Tarascan area. While numerous Mestizos participate, the bulk of the vendors and almost all the buyers are Tarascans. Although subject to fluctuation in size from week to week, the Paracho market compares favorably at any time with the occasional large markets held in other towns on the occasion of a fiesta.

Cherán does boast of two weekly markets in addition to the infrequent affairs on the occasion of important fiestas. These markets, however, are merely insignificant reflexes of the Paracho market. Traveling salesmen or *viajeros* whose route to Paracho leads through Cherán often set up shop in the Cherán plaza on Saturday afternoon. In the evening or early the next morning they move on to Paracho. If they have not sold out their goods in Paracho, they may stop Monday morning in Cherán for a few hours. The number of vendors and the amount of goods sold, then, are relatively insignificant. Fresh vegetables are the main items, and housewives who do not expect to go to Paracho the following day may stock up for the week.

366 The Saturday market at Cherán usually gets
443 under way about 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Vendors continue to arrive, however, until as late as 4 o'clock, and the main activity of the market is between 5 o'clock and dusk. The market occupies the street on the south side of the plaza in front of the municipal building. The vendors form two facing lines on opposite sides of the street. Only on unusually busy

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346 days do the lines extend the full length of the
443 plaza. The Monday morning market is much smaller.

TABLE 3.—*Products sold in the Cherán market, 1940*

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Product	Number of vendors selling product on Sept. 7	Product sold on—	
		Nov. 9	October 6 (fiesta)
Agua fresca (sweet water)			×
Anillos (rings)			×
Ajo (garlic)		×	
Aretes (earrings)			×
Atole			×
Ayates (carrying nets)			×
Bateas (wooden bowls)			×
Cacahuates (peanuts)		×	
Cabetes (jellies)			×
Calabaza cocida (cooked squash)			×
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)		×	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	5		×
Canastas (flat baskets)			×
Carne seca (dried meat)			×
Cebollas (onions)	4	×	×
Changungas			×
Chayotes cocidos (cooked chayote)		×	
Cherimoya		×	×
Chiles	13	[1] ×	×
Chiquihuites (baskets)		×	
Cocos (coconuts)			×
Col (cabbage)		×	
Cucharas (spoons)			×
Cundas (harvest baskets)		×	
Dulces (sweets)		×	×
Dedales (thimbles)			×
Dardenistas		×	
Fajas (sashes)			×
Frijoles (beans)	1	×	×
Guayabas (guavas)			×
Habas cocidas (cooked broadbeans)		×	
Helotes cocidos (cooked green corn)		×	
Higos (figs)			×
Jicamas		×	×
Jitomates (tomatoes)			×
Juguetes (playthings)			×
Leña (firewood)	1		
Lenteja (lentils)	1		
Limas (sweet lemons)	1		×
Loza de Oaxaca (pottery from Oaxaca)			×
Loza (pottery)	2		×
Manos			×
Manzanas (apples)	3	×	×
Mecates (ropes)			×
Morales (bags)			×
Muñecos (dolls)			×
Naranjas (oranges)		×	
Nieve (ice cream)			×
Pan, blanco y moreno (bread, white and dark)		×	×
Pan dulce (sweet bread)			×
Pan de horno (cookies)		×	
Pastura (fodder)		×	
Peras (pears)	2		×
Pescado (fish, several kinds)[2]	3	[1] ×	×
Petates (mats)		×	×
Platanos (bananas)		×	×
Pitzkuas[3]		×	
Papas (potatoes)	1		
Queso (cheese)	1		
Rebozos (shawls)			×
Religion (crosses, medals, etc.)			×
Ropa hecho (clothing)			×
Sanhorias (carrots)		×	
Silantro			×
Serapes (blankets)			×
Sombreros (hats)			×
Tascales (baskets for tortillas)		×	
Tela (cloth)			×
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	2	×	×
Tunas (prickly pears)		×	
Velas (candles)			×
Vidrio (glass)			×
Yerbas (herbs)			×
Zapatos (shoes)			×

[1] Black and red chile from Querendaro; green chile, large and small; red chile, large and small; chile pasilla ancha; chile guajillo; chile mirasol; chile verde jiráp al.

[2] *Charo* (kuíkepo—small, dried, from Pátzcuaro; turuti—large, fresh, from Pátzcuaro).

[3] Small, black fruit like green tomato in taste.

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On the occasion of a fiesta, the market occupies the entire plaza and overflows onto side streets. The variety and quantity of goods on such occasions exceed that at the regular Paracho market. Table 3 shows this clearly in the market held for October 6, 1940, the fiesta of the patron saint. Only two weekly markets were checked in any detail, as the fluctuations in the market simply reflect those occurring at Paracho the following day. Table 3 gives a list of the articles on sale in Cherán on three different dates, and for September 7 the number of vendors of each article is given.

TABLE 4.—*Place of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán, Saturday, Sept. 7, 1940*

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Origin of vendor[1]	Article	Origin of article
Chapala	Fish	Chapala.
Cherán	Pottery	Huancito.
Do	Apples	Pichátaro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Pottery	Huancito.
Cherán (4)	Wood	Cherán.
Cherán	Apples	Do.
Do	Apples	Pichátaro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Cheese	Tierra caliente.
Pátzcuaro	Green chile	Pátzcuaro.
	Onions	
Cherán	Chile	Uricho.
Uricho (2)	Yellow chile	Do.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, chile	Do.
	Tomatoes	Pátzcuaro.
Uricho	Yellow chile	Uricho.
	Tomatoes	
Pátzcuaro	Onions, cabbage	Pátzcuaro.
Do	Onions, cabbage, tomatoes	Do.
Uricho	Chile, onions, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Pátzcuaro	Potatoes, beans, tomatoes	Pátzcuaro.
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes (purple)	Zipiajo.
Villa Jimenez	Beans	Villa Jimenez.
Zunaparío	Chile	Zunaparío.
Cherán	Bread, peaches	Cherán.
Caranco	Chile	San Gabriel, Jalisco.
San Francisco	Chile, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Do	Tomatoes	Do.
Cherán	Tomatoes	Cherán (?).
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes	Pandicuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Cherán (?).
Etucuaro	Lentils	Etucuaro.
El Tigre	Chile	El Tigre.
Zacapu	Tomatoes	Zacapu.
Lacalga	Sweetpotatoes	Purépero.
Pandicuaro (2)	do	Zacapu.
Chucandiro	do	Zacapu (San Simon).
San Pedro Caro	Dried fish	Hacienda de la Luz.
Carapan	Lemon	Carapan.
Chapala	Cooked dried fish	Chapala.

[1] Numbers in parentheses indicate number of vendors if more than one.

Tables 4 and 5 show the places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán and at Paracho in September, 1940, and table 6 gives the products and number of vendors at the Paracho market on various dates in 1940.

About 70 to 80 percent of the vendors in the Paracho market on September 1 (table 5) were

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TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*

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Product	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Agua fresca (sweet water)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Aguacates (avocados)	Cañada	(1)	1	1
Anillos (rings)	Patamban	Paracho	1	1
Aretes (earrings)	Nahuatsen	do	1	1
Bagas (burden ropes)	Paracho	do	2	2
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Caldo (broth)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	La Azarea	La Azarea	1	6
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Purépero	Purépero	2	
		Paracho	2	
Cebollas (onions)	Paracho	do	2	2
Cerezas (cherries)	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	2
Cestas (baskets)	Pandicuaro	Zacapu	2	2
Chabacanos (apricots)	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	1
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Changungas	Tierra caliente	Uruapan	1	1
Chiles (peppers)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	9
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
	Pátzcuaro (?)	Pátzcuaro	3	
Col (cabbage)[1]				
Coliflor (cauliflower)[1]				
Dulces (candy)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
	Pichataro	do	1	
	Cherán	Cherán	6	
Duraznos (peaches)	Pichataro	Pichataro	8	20
	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	
	Cheranástico	Cheranástico	2	
	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	
Fibra de palmas (palm leaves)	Tierra caliente (1 woman, maybe all, carried it up)	Cherán	2	7
		Paracho	1	
		Pátzcuaro	1	
		Barú	3	
Frijoles (beans)	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	1	8
	San Gerónimo	San Gerónimo	2	
	Carapan	Carapan	2	
	Tirindiro	Tirindiro	1	
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Tangancícuaro	Tangancícuaro	1	
Guitarras (guitars)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Habas (pulse or broad-beans)	Cañada	Cañada	2	3
		Carapan	1	
Helotes (cooked green corn)	Paracho	Paracho	1	3
	Cheranástico	Cheranástico	1	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
Higos (figs)	Cañada	Paracho	1	2
		Cañada	1	
Huaraches (woven sandals)	Purépero	Purépero	1	1
Jicamas (root)	(1)	Paracho	1	1
Lechuga (lettuce)[1]				
Limas (sweet lemons)	Chilchota	Chilchota	3	3
Limones (lemons)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	5
	Chilchota (?)	Chilchota	3	
	Tierra caliente	Guanajuato	1	
	Guanajuato	Purépero	1	
	Huanuato	Huanuato	1	
Loza (pottery)	Patamban	Patamban	3	9
	do	Nurió	1	
	Quiroga	Zacapu	1	
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	
	Quiroga	Tintuntzan	1	
Manta	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Mandils (aprons)	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Manzanas (apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	2	18
	do	Pichataro	13	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
	Pichataro	do	1	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	1	
Manzanas-chatas (crab apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	1	4
	Uruapan	Uruapan	3	
Mostacillos (?) (beads)	Guadalajara	do	1	1
Muebles (furniture)	Paracho	do	2	2
Naranjas (oranges)	(?)	Paracho	1	5
	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	
	Limón	Limón (?)	1	
	Chilchota	Chilchota	2	
Nueces (nuts)	Cherán	Cherán	1	2
	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	
Pan (bread)	Tanaco	Tanaco	2	6
Pan dulce	Cherán	Cherán	4	
Papas (patatas) (potatoes)	Nahuatsen	Paracho		1

[1] No data.

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TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*—Continued

Products	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Paragoss de paja (straw raincoats)	Aranteperas	Aranteperas	3	3
Peras (pears)	Pichátaro	do	4	18
	Cherán	Cherán	4	
	Pichátaro	Pichátaro	9	
Pescado seco (dried fish)[1]	do	Cherán	1	
Platanos (bananas)	Tierra caliente	Paracho	1	5
Queso (cheese)[1]		Uruapan	4	
Rebozos	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Serapes	do	do	2	2
Sigras (large, lemonlike citrus fruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Silantro seeds	Cañada	Cañada	1	2
	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Sombreros (flat-top, white hats)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	1	10
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	
	Nahuatzen (?)	do	1	
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
	Morelia (?)	Paracho	1	
	Cherán (?)	do	1	
Toronja (grapefruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota	2	2
Tunas (prickly pears)	Tanaco	Tanaco	3	4
	Purépero	Purépero	1	
Uakinikin (a long nut)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Uikunu (yellow fruit?)	Los Reyes	Paracho	1	2
	Cimotlan	Cimotlan	1	
Tela (cloth)	Paracho	Paracho	2	2
Violin	do	do	1	1
Yerbas (herbs)	Cherán	Cherán	1	2
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Zapatos (shoes, orange; also white)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	1

[1] No data.

interviewed. The number of vendors and the articles sold, by classes, are as follows:

Articles:	Number of vendors
Fruits	52
Vegetables	26
Prepared food (including bread)	12
Wearing apparel	21
Baskets and pottery	15
Furniture	2
Ornaments and musical instruments	3
Palm fiber for hats	7
Total	138

Most vendors not interviewed were engaged in the sale of fruits or vegetables, mostly vegetables.

Another example of an unimportant market is given by Rendón for San Juan Parangaricutiro. The main articles sold were small quantities of tomatoes, chile, jicamas, onions, cabbage, silantro, garlic, limes, oranges, guavas, cherimoyas, peanuts, and sugarcane. Two persons sold candies from Zamora, two booths sold sweetpotatoes, one each sold pottery and shoes,

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TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Agua fresca (sweet water)	1	4	2	1		
Aguas gaseosas (pop)		3	5	3		1
Aje (pigment)					3	
Ajo (garlic)						6
Aguacates (avocados)	1			1		
Anillos (rings)	1					
Aretes; collares (earrings; necklaces)	1	1				3
Atole (maize gruel)					2	2
Ayates (nets)				2	2	2
Bagas (burden ropes)	2					
Bates para lavar ropa (washtray)				1		
Bateas (wooden bowls)		1	1			
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	1				2	
Borrega (mutton)		3		3		
Cacahuates (peanuts)		4	5		9	2
Cal (lime)					2	
Caldo (broth)	1					
Calabacitos (small squash)					3	
Calabazo cocido (cooked squash)		4	5	14	12	1
Calces (cakes)					1	
Camas (beds)	1			1	7	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	4	8		2		1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	2	2				
Caña (sugarcane)			3	1		
Canastas (flat baskets)				1		1
Carne de puerco cocido (cooked pork)		1	1	2		3
Carne seco (dried beef)		1		6	12	6
Cebollos (onions)	2	15	11	12	18	15
Ceresas (cherries)	2		1	5	1	
Cerezas secas (dried cherries)			1		2	1
Cestas (baskets)	2	3	1	4		
Chabacanos (apricots)	1					
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	1					
Changungas (a fruit)	1					
Chayotes			3	1	7	
Chayotes cocido (cooked chayotes)		3		4		
Cherimoyas (a fruit)					4	
Chicahuites (harvest baskets)				1	3	
Chicharos (peas)		4	3	4		
Chicharos cocidos (cooked peas)				1		
Chiles (peppers)	9	53	32	15		
Chiles, large wide, red				7		
Chiles, large long, red				15		
Chiles, small, red				20		21
Chiles, verdes (green)				8	25	18
Chile, negros (black)				2	5	7
Cintas (belts)						1
Ciruelas (plums)		2				
Cocos (coconuts)				3	1	
Col (cabbage)		14	10	2	6	7
Coliflor (cauliflower)		1			2	
Corbatas (neckties)			1			
Cucharas (spoons)		1		2	1	
Cracklings					1	
Custard						1
Dibujos y arte, flores			1			
Doughnuts				1		
Dulces (candy)	1	6	4	7	4	2
Dulces de membrillos (fruit paste)		1				
Duraznos (peaches)	20	22	1	3		
Escobas de palma (brushes of palm)	1					
Escobas de paja verde (brushes of green straw)						1
Espinaca (spinach)			1			
Fajas (sashes)		2	2	2	1	3
Fibra de palma (palm leaves for hats)	7	5		1	11	
Floreras (flowerpots)						1
Flores (flowers)					3	
Flores de papel (paper flowers)						2
Frijoles (beans)	8	13		6	24	
Gorditos (fried maize cakes)					1	
Granadas (pomegranates)		6		31	30	2
Guayas					1	2
Guitarras (guitars)	1					
Habas (broadbeans)	3	1		1	4	
Habas verdes (green broadbeans)					1	
Helotes (green corn on cob)	3	1	4	6	2	
Higos (figs)	2					
Hoja de betabel (chard)		3				
Hoja de limones (lemon leaves)		2				
Hoja de naranja (orange leaves)		1		2		
Huaraches (woven sandals)	1	1	4	1		
Ixtle (maguey halters)		11				
Jalatina (jelly)				1		
Jicamas (a turniplike root)	5			3	6	
Jitomates (tomatoes)					6	
Juegos de naipes (card games)				5		
Juguetes (playthings, e.g. dolls)		5	2		2	

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

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TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*—Continued

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Jugetes de loza (pottery figurines)		3	6	13	1	
Lana (wool)					1	
Lechuga (lettuce)		1				
Limas y limones (limes and limes)	8	17	7	16	13	7
Loquats				1		
Loza (pottery)	9	1		64	5	2
Macate (maguey fiber string)			1			
Mandils (aprons)	4					
Mantas (blankets)	1					
Manzanas (apples)	22	37	5	16	2	
Maiz (corn)	6		1		2	
Macetas (flowerpots)					1	
Madroño berries						1
Mamey (a fruit)					1	
Mascaras (masks)		2	1			
Maza (maize dough)		1				
Mazorca (maize cars)				1		
Medias (stockings)						2
Miscelanea (cheap jewelry and notions)		1	19	4	8	1
Molineros (chocolate beaters)				1		
Morales (bags)				1		
Mostacillos (beads)	1					
Muebles (furniture)	2					
Naranjas (oranges)	5	11	1	22	21	3
Nieve (ice cream)		1	1	1	2	2
Nueces (nuts)	3					
Orange plum				1		
Palma tejida (hat braid)[2]					1	
Pan (bread)	6	26	25	29	28	17
Pan de huevo (cake)						2
Pan con miel (bread with honey)			10			
Pan dulce (cookies)				1	1	
Papas (potatoes)	1	6	6	2	5	2
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	3					
Peluqueros (barbers)				6		
Peras (pears)	16	14				
Pescado (fish)		12	5	1	13	6
Petates (mats)		1		2	4	1
Platanos (bananas)	5	4	1	19	3	2
Plumas (pens)				3		
Pulque					1	
Queso (cheese)	1	17	9	3	5	2
Rebozos (shawls)	4	11	15		21	11
Redes (nets)		1				
Serapes (blankets)	2	4	2	1	7	5
Servietas (napkins)					1	
Sigras (a fruit)	1					
Silantro semilla (seed for flavoring)	2	5	1	4	4	
Sillas (chairs)				3		
Sombreros (hats)	1	2	1	1	2	2
Sopladores (fire fans)		1				
Sweaters						1
Tamales		19		23		1
Tejocotes (wild crab apples)	5	5				2
Tela (cloth and clothing)	2			2		2
Tela de lana (wool yardage)			7			
Tesquisquite		1		2		10
Tomates (small husk tomatoes)	10	36	26	19	8	
Toronja (grapefruit)	2					
Tortillas					5	2
Tortilla baskets					3	1
Tunas (prickly pears)	4		3		4	1
Uskimikin (nut)	1					
Violins (violin)	1					
Velas (candles)			3			
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	1	1				
Yerbas (herbs)	1				1	
Yellowfruit		1		1		
Yame			1			
Zanhorias (carrots)		1	2			1
Zapatos (shoes)	1	3	8	3	9	7

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

[2] An obvious error. Braid vendors were present every Sunday, but had no stands.

and three sold dry goods. A line of women sold atole and kurúndas, the yellow Tarascan tamale.

438 The Mestizo town of Chilchota has a market
443 on Sunday which is not notably different from
a medium-size Tarascan market. Indeed, as
462 this is the market town for La Cañada, prob-

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438 ably a majority of the attendants are Tarascans.
443 Rendón, who collected the data, observes that
462 there is a fairly clear sex division in market activities. Prepared foods are always sold by women. Sugarcane, medicinal herbs, pulque, and *ocote* (pitch pine) are almost always sold by men. Such things as lime, sweetmeats, and pottery are usually sold by women, although men may sell them. Vegetables are usually sold by women, while fruits may be sold by either sex. In general, selling is done mostly by the women. Buying, on the other hand, seems equally divided between men and women. Merchandise sold on two different market days (dates not given, but probably in February 1940) is shown in table 7. The organization of the market is shown in figure 11.

TABLE 7.—*Goods sold at two markets at Chilchota*

443
438

Goods sold	Number of vendors in—	
	Market A	Market B
Sugarcane	15	12
Cooked agave (mescal)	8	0
Green tomatoes	2	8
Ripe tomatoes	6	9
Green chile	0	2
Dry chile	7	7
Cabbage	3	4
Cooked chayote	8	6
Cooked chayote root	10	8
Cooked squash	3	8
Cooked sweetpotato	3	0
Dried meat	1	0
Greens	0	2
Limes and oranges	3	2
Cherimoyas and other fruit	6	8
Peanuts	6	0
Lemon-leaf tea and nurite	1	1
Sweets	2	3
Pulque	0	6
Sweet tamales	12	10
Flour tamales	6	4
Regular tamales (kurúndas)	12	6
Medicinal herbs	1	2
Soaproot	1	1
Salt and lime	4	4
Pitch pine	2	0
Pottery	8	11
Total	130	123

CONSUMPTION

511 The most important type of consumption in Cherán is that occurring in the family. Obviously, the consumption of raw material and semifinished goods in manufactures is significant, but the essential data regarding this have already been presented in the previous discussions. Likewise, there are many aspects of consumption related to various cultural activities dealt with in later discussions. Special types of consumption occur in connection with the life crises, especially mar-

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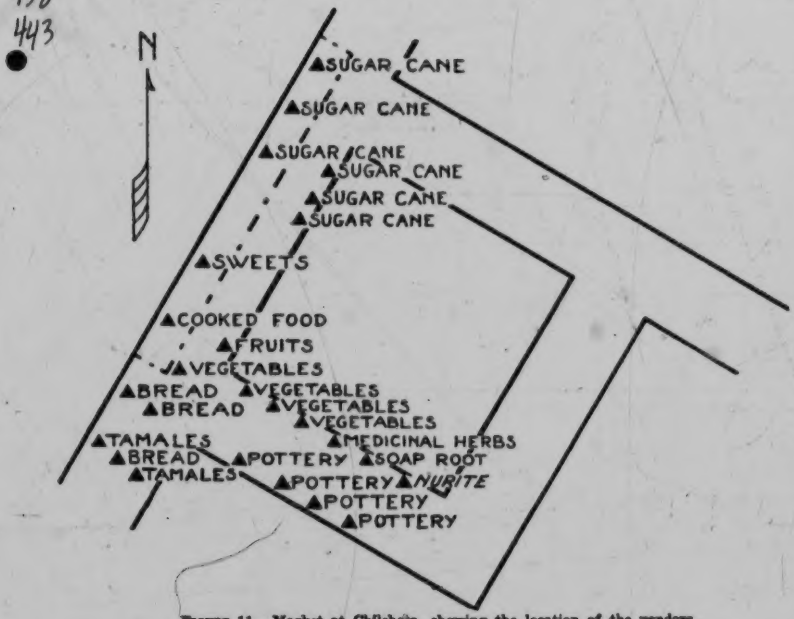

FIGURE 11.—Market at Chilchota, showing the location of the vendors.

[p. 84c]

527 was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

527 443 Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day before, including three women with "a little religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women, there were the following: A street vendor, shouting "*Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,*" who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

527 364 Some street cleaning began on this day. Trash was burned in the streets and the streets were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

527 796 October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day. Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members [574] either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the
796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass.
[793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be
[443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A
[265] gambling game was set up. The booths for
[275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on
[548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

[443] All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby stre[illegible]re crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round
[529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

527 In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com-
533 missioners and their assistants went to the calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

527 533 [534] Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided, the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger stops) played in unison, accompanied by a drum. They played for some time in the arcade before the municipal building. The shrill music, played with great verve and noise, seemed vaguely familiar and finally became recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It remained the favorite and almost only piece played by the *chirimía* band throughout the fiesta.

527 [443] [323] Sunday the market was in full operation, and the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only were most of the residents of Cherán on the streets, in some cases making extensive purchases (this is the only time of the year that pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but there were hundreds of visitors. The bands played early in the morning. The young men were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.

527 535 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on horseback, followed in a short time by the other two. They rode slowly around the plaza, followed by one of the bands. After a short time the moros went to lunch without dancing.

[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with them at this time, often issuing invitations well in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their horses in the plaza in front of the church while the bands played. The moros then went to the *municipio*, dismounted, and danced in front of the building. Remounting, they returned to the church and danced in front of the church. Many people were openly critical of them for not dancing first in front of the church. After the performance in front of the church, the dancers went on foot down the main street, dancing in front of various stores until about 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During

[542] the afternoon a basketball game was played between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little interest.

527 389 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks set was to be burned. Not until after dark

527 upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3
541 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

527 The bull riding at Cherán is carefully super-
541 vised, and drunken men not only are forbidden to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded
273 from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ridé. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

527 The procedures described above were re-
541 peated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

527 While the market continued to some extent throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some
443 people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

527 The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

527 543 198 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)." Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

527 541 Often a group of young men will ask permission of the municipal authorities to collect the *"pisos de plaza,"* that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores*. Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

527 796 The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on Thursday. I could not find out definitely who pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo*, nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

527 443 The Octava occurs a week after Easter Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo*, dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios*. No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

527 541 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fighting. Usually a group interested in cock fighting hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of [443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples [439] from Pichátaro. The San Juan fiesta is the occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

788 Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and 796 obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way [785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that [755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

796 The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursala, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

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245 262 *Manila* varieties are grown extensively for export. Scarcely a house lacks a sweet lemon tree. The fruit is sold in bulk to dealers before it is ripe. Bitter limes are sold the same way; the prices are less than for sweet limes, but people in Chilchota say they are more pleasant in flavor. Oranges are also grown extensively in orchards. Two varieties of guavas are utilized. The type known as *corriente* grows wild and is used only by poor people who cook the fruit in honey. The "fine" type is cultivated and sold. A few bananas are grown of the type known in Mexico City as *platano bolso* and in Uruapan as *corriente*. The local name is *Costarica*. A "fine" and an "ordinary" variety of peaches are grown; the entire crop is exported. Cherimoyas occur in most orchards, but not in such quantity as in the Tarascan towns of La Cañada. The product is all consumed locally. Some *zapote blanco* is cultivated in Chilchota; more is grown among the Tarascan towns. Cherries grow half-wild, being planted but not tended. The fruit is eaten raw or made into confections. A fruit known as juakinicuiles (in Mexico City, jinicuiles) is planted but not cultivated; it is much prized. Citron is grown in some orchards; all the product is sold. The tejocote is not used at all in Chilchota, and some people even were amazed at the idea it should be eaten.

Coffee is extensively cultivated, sharing with lemons the major place in the orchards. Almost all the coffee is sold in the bean in Zamora, and the coffee consumed locally is brought from Zamora.

244 262 Three varieties of squash are cultivated. Calabaza Tarasca is grown in the fields and is all consumed in the town, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes. Calabaza de Castilla is grown in two varieties, one with hard shell and one with soft. Both are exported. A variety called sopoma grows in the fields and is all used in the town, either to make sweets or as greens for broth or stew.

222 262 The principal wild plant used for food in Chilchota is a species of prickly pear (*tuna*), known as jococoxtle. It is used in certain of the beef stews or is ground with chile to make a sauce placed on the table.

253 443 262 Meat is mostly butchered on Saturday and Sunday, and the main sales take place on

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443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called *"despachos"* and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five places sell meat remaining from Sunday through most of the week. No distinction is made in price between meat with bone and meat without bone, but on request one will be served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is preferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers; those of swine either are made into cracklings or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only semiprofessional, fishing when they have time and selling the catch only if they have more than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls) and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
262 curious custom exists in that anyone may help himself to these greens, entering into wheat fields belonging to others either with or without permission. Anyone objecting would be severely censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed with chile, salt, and *"epazote."* The time for this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle, the water drained off, and the flour dried. Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently delivered, when it is cooked in water, either plain or sweetened with honey. The plain boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

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PLOWING. DITCHES TO PROTECT FIELDS. LOG HEWING. AND CHERÁN PLAZA DURING FIESTA.

Upper (left): Plowing on the plain. Augustín, at the plow, wears felt hat, shirt, trousers, belt, and shoes; workman at left, less acculturated, wears straw hat, sandals, and mechanic's overalls. *Upper (right):* Squaring a log with an ax before sawing it into planks. *Lower (left):* A hill-slope field, with new ditch (center) and overgrown bank surmounted with thorny brush (foreground) to protect it from animals. Agaves are planted on right of ditch. *Lower (right):* Portion of Cherán plaza during the fiesta of the patron saint.

[Ext Plate 4]

EP. 71b]

438
441 large mestizo towns (who ride in trucks and busses)—all serve as distributing agents.

443 **The market (uaśájpikuaru, or "the place where**
438 **people sit").**—Sunday is the most important market day for the Tarascans.[183] Large groups of Indians from neighboring pueblos flock to the regular markets held in the large mestizo towns within or on the edge of the Tarascan area. Since colonial times Paracho has been the largest Indian commercial center of the Sierra. To the south Los Reyes and Uruapan are the exchange centers for *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* merchandise.[184] A lesser number of Indians attend the northern market towns: Zamora, Tingüindín, Purépero, Zacapu, and Chilchota (the commercial center for the La Cañada pueblos). Generally speaking, each large Sunday market draws upon a certain Indian area defined by a walking or riding distance of one day or less (map 21). On occasion, however, the Pátzcuaro or Uruapan *tianguis* is visited by Indians who live more than 1 day's travel away. In the Sierra often the entire family attends the regular market, leaving Saturday with handicrafts or farm products (usually fruit, chickens, or eggs) packed on burros, and arriving at the plaza at night.[185] Sunday morning is a time of brisk trading. By afternoon most of the traders have sold their wares, purchased supplies, and have departed for their respective pueblos. The Lake Pátzcuaro fishers got to market in boats, carrying fish and vegetables to Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Quiroga to trade for maize, wheat, and firewood.

Lesser markets are regularly held in a few smaller Indian towns. For example, there is a Sunday market at Charapan, attended by people from Cocucho, Urapicho, Corupo, San Felipe, and Nurío. On Saturdays and Mondays there is some commercial activity in Cherán, as professional traders pass through the town going to and coming from the Sunday Uruapan market (Beals, 1946, p. 80). Again, on Thursdays

———[Text continues top of P. 73a—Analyst]

[184] [183] An important exception is the Pátzcuaro market held on Fridays and Sundays. A minor fish market occurs also on Tuesdays.

[184] Formerly Parhán was one of the largest *tierra caliente—tierra fría* markets in Michoacán, but since the close of the colonial era it has ceded most of its trade to Los Reyes nearby. Important fiesta markets are still held in Parhán however.

[494] [185] Within the last 8 years the pueblos along the Uruapan highway have ridden busses or taxis to market. Since 1943 similar transport has been extended to Charapan, Eronto, and intermediate pueblos. Moreover, during the dry season lumber trucks haul loads of men and women from some Sierra towns to mestizo markets.

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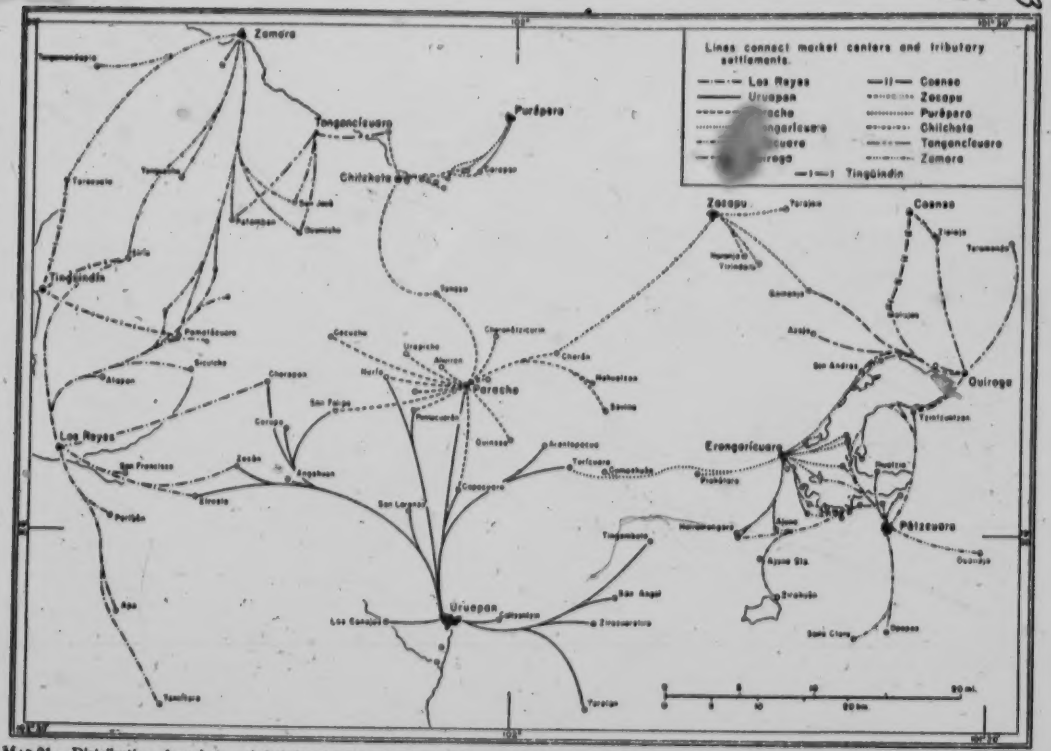
Lines connect market centers and tributary settlements.
Los Reyes
Uruapan
Paracho
Tangancícuaro
Purépero
Chilchota
Tingüindín
Zamora
Zacapu
Coeneo
Erongarícuaro
Pátzcuaro
Quiroga
Urapicho
Nahuatzen
Capacuaro
Arantepacua
Turícuaro
Tingambato
Ihuatzio
Tzintzuntzan
Ajuno Sta.
Santa Clara
Tarecuato
Tarejero
Tanaco
Tarasco
Ocumicho
Cherán
Sevina
Corupo
Angahuan
Zirosto
Parícutin
Ario
Tancítaro
Tarímbaro
Pomacuarán
Sicuicho
Atapan
Chilcuaro
Tarecuato
Tanaco
Tarasco
Ocumicho
Cherán
Nahuatzen
Sevina
Corupo
Angahuan
Zirosto
Parícutin
Ario
Tancítaro
Tarímbaro
Pomacuarán
Sicuicho
Atapan
Chilcuaro
Tarecuato
Tanaco
Tarasco
Ocumicho
Cherán

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 73-a]

443 438 professional traders gather at Patamban to buy pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practically every village lively trading accompanies the 443 annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In 438 some instances such markets are large enough to 796 be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[165]

437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes place. An interesting exception occurs at Erongaricuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of barter takes place at the Patamban market; there, women from the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* trade tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the [651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Patamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongaricuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[165] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [438] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Peribán (April 14, 1946) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

444 which handles mainly staple food imports (salted dried beef, dried fish, salt, piloncillo, lard, beans, and wheat flour) and beverages (soft drinks, beer, and hard liquors). A small assortment of canned goods can be purchased in the stores of the larger towns. Often other items, such as cigarettes, kerosene, and metal household ware, are carried. In the small villages stores are customarily operated by well-to-do Tarascan families, often by the wife and children, while the man farms.[167] In the large pueblos the storekeepers are usually mestizos who have moved in from neighboring towns.[168] [117] Significantly, the infiltration of Spanish-speaking storekeepers into indigenous towns often represents one of the initial steps toward hispanicization of the native population.[169]

443 **The professional traders.**—The *huacalero* (inspikuiiri, or "one who trades") represents the last vestige of the ancient Indian carriers (*tamemes*), formerly important agents of distribution throughout Mexico. Few such traveling merchants, each of whom carries his wares in a wooden crate (*huacal*, kópaɪakua) tied to his back, remain; the majority have been displaced by burro and motor transportation. As late as 1900 large 443 numbers of Tarascan *huacaleros* from many 439 Sierra villages carried handicrafts into the Balsas Basin, the coast of Guerrero, and Colima and returned with tropical fruit, salt, and cheese. Today about 15 *huacaleros* operate out of Pamatácuaro, carrying locally made wooden spoons and *bateas*, Patamban pottery, *morrales* from

[438] [443] made goods from Zamora, Guadalajara, Morelia, and México. Regional handicrafts were represented as follows:

Article:	Origin	Vendors (number)
Blankets	Charapan	10 walking vendors.
Blankets	Jiquilpan	1 stall.
Rebozos	Paracho	1 stall.
Women's belts	Nahuatzen	1 stall.
Straw hats	Apo	1 stall.
Agave rope	Tarecuato	2 stalls.
Pottery	Patamban	12 stalls.
Pottery	Santa Fé	1 stall.
Pottery	San Juan Tlaquepaque (Jalisco).	1 stall.
Wooden tops	Paracho	1 stall.
Wicker baskets	Tangamandapio	1 stall.
Huaraches	Los Reyes	3 stalls.
Huaraches	Peribán	1 stall.

[167] Cherán, as Beals points out (1946, p. 79), is unique in that, although it is the largest Tarascan town, the storekeepers are Tarascan.

[168] For example, although Tarecuato is almost wholly native in speech, its three or four stores are operated by mestizos. Merchants of Paracho, Patamban, and Nahuatzen are all mestizos.

[169] Apart from its distributive function, the village store (mestizo or indigenous) frequently serves as the only readily accessible public place where a stranger may introduce himself and ask questions about the town. Except in the municipal seats, the town officials, all of whom hold nonremunerative posts, are rarely found in the *juzgado*, or town hall.

443 Tarecuato, and medicinal herbs of the Sierra to
439 Colima, most parts of Jalisco, the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán and Guerrero. Tropical fruits make up most of the return load. A few professional carriers haul pottery from Santa Fé to Quiroga and, at times, to Morelia. *Huacaleros* from other towns have practically disappeared.

443 Although they do not use the large *huacal*,
438 many women of the Sierra devote most of their time to carrying various products to the surrounding mestizo markets. For instance, the women of the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* (Uringuitiro, Tierra Blanca, etc.) carry *ocote* splinters, wooden spoons, and tamales to Zamora, Chilchota, Patamban, and the Lake area.[170] Again, some women of Corupo collect eggs and chickens from surrounding towns and take them to the Sunday market at Uruapan.[171]

492 The *arrieros*, or the "mule-skinners," in spite
443 of inroads of motor transportation, still account for a large part of the interregional trade in Michoacán. Mule and burro transport came into
[177] use on a large scale in New Spain after the forced services of the *tamemes* were restricted in the last half of the 16th century (Spain. Law, Statutes, etc., Lib. VI, tit. 12, ley 6–10). Indians, however, were slow to adopt animal transport. Even in the latter part of the 18th century the majority of the muleteers operating in Michoacán were Spaniards or mestizos, who hired Indians as helpers. By 1789 some Tarascans owned mule or burro trains in Cherán, Urapicho, Angahuan, Charapan, and Pomacuarán (AGN Historia, vol.
[439] 73). Even today the greater part of the *arrieros* operating in the Tarascan area are mestizos with headquarters in some of the northern towns.

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[170] During such trips the women of these ranchos may be gone from their households for 3 or 4 days. In their absence housework is done by the children or the men, who rarely travel.

[171] Such rounds may last a week. The women visit Charapan, Zacan, Zirisio, Pamatácuaro on certain days, returning to Corupo by Friday, and arrive at Uruapan Saturday evening. Eggs are carried in a small crate held on the back with the *ayate*. Six or seven chickens are tied on the top of the box, and, in addition, many women carry one or two fowls in their arms.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[74-b]

443 492 439 Like the *huacalero*, the *arriero* in the Tarascan area has functioned chiefly as a commercial intermediary between the *tierra caliente* and the *tierra fría*. During the colonial period, however, some mule skinners extended operations into the northern mining districts. Moreover, various mestizo towns in Tarasca became *arriero* centers—strategic points along the main routes where mule trains met, animals were sold and traded, supplies purchased, and merchandise exchanged. Such towns became residences of many muleteers. A series of these centers lies within the *tierra caliente* and includes Apatzingán, Huetamo, and Coyuca. Another series is located within the *tierra templada:* Uruapan, Ario, Tacámbaro. Other centers are found in the *tierra fría:* Cotija, and, formerly, Parangaricutiro and Jiquilpan. Most of these towns still function as *arriero* centers, and although motor transportation is continually replacing the mule and burro, some of them will continue to serve as way stations for fuel and repairs and collecting points for products carried out by trucks.

443 494 Since the construction of motor roads in many parts of Tarasca, former *arrieros* and *huacaleros* have begun to use public busses and semipublic trucks to transport merchandise. Pottery vendors, for example, stand for hours along the highway, hailing through-trucks to take them and their goods to Guadalajara, Morelia, or Mexico City. Moreover, heavy sugar and *cascalote* trucks now operate from Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes into the *tierra caliente*.

442 The wholesale buyers represent a modern type of merchant, who with the advent of road construction have begun to penetrate into the Tarascan area. Grain dealers from Morelia, Zamora, and Uruapan now run their trucks into the Sierra towns to buy surplus wheat. Again, many woodworkers in Paracho are on contract to city wholesalers for turned work and guitars, which are collected at intervals in trucks or passenger cars.

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PLATE 14.—Markets and transport. *a*, The Sunday firewood and fish market, Erongaricuaro. The wood vendor at left has already bartered a pile of pine sticks for a few fish in the basket. *b*, Pottery section of the Sunday market at Uruapan. *c*, The bread section of the Erongaricuaro market on the plaza. *d*, A train of burros bringing piñon palm leaves from the sierra cabezón to Arío de Rosales. *e*, Boats from Janitzio landing on the mud flats at Erongaricuaro for the Sunday market. *f*, Hauling dismembered chairs and tables from Cocupao to the Uruapan market.

[End-plate 14]

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
796 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies
[114] during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
131 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
178 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huananchа dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but apparently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it had in early Colonial days.

796 The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
443 brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoacán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
[793] Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people because they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the present parish priest was in residence.

178 But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
533 in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
796 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same specialized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
[467] "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
178 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
467 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
796 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate